



# CONSPIRACY

## IN THE TRUCKING INDUSTRY



An International Socialists Pamphlet

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## Table of Contents

Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1: The Conspiracy .....	4
Chapter 2: Monopoly Power .....	10
Chapter 3: We Are Paying With Our Lives .....	17
Chapter 4: The Union .....	29
Chapter 5: We Have the Power .....	33
Chapter 6: Organize the Power .....	36
Chapter 7: A Program for the Rank and File .....	43
Chapter 8: Class Struggle Unionism and Socialists .....	48
Chapter 9: Class Struggle Politics ..	53

## Introduction

"We've been screwed, shafted, hammered." You hear it every day on the streets, and you know it's true. If you're in the trucking industry or the Teamsters union, you see the jobs being lost, your wages worth less every week, the grievance procedure shot to hell. Our standard of living is going down, our home life is under a lot more pressure. And nobody seems to give a damn, certainly not our union officials.

We're being hammered, but we don't know **why**, or **how**, or exactly **who** to blame. Worst of all, we don't know what to do about it. Most of us sit all day behind the wheel of a truck, or move the freight on the dock, pick up the orders in the warehouse or type the bills in the office. Some of us went to college a few years, but many more of us never finished high school. In any case, we're not students or professors or lawyers or reporters, with the time and money to study the economy and the government. We know the freight industry, the economy in general, the union and the government are all going to pot—but how and why and what do we do about it?

Well, we better figure it out and get ourselves together pretty quick, because there's real trouble down the pike if we don't. Because—as this booklet will show—the facts are these: **a conspiracy by a small group of power-hungry, money-hungry individuals literally threatens your life.** The conspiracy is an attempt to control billions of dollars worth of industry and commerce, the world's largest union, and important government agencies. It is a conspiracy for control of the freight industry, the Teamsters Union and in fact, for control of the government itself. And the conspirators

threaten everything decent in the country—your family, your home, your livelihood.

**The Post** or the **Plaindealer**, the **Tribune** or the **Times** do not tell the truth about the real fight that's going on for the freight industry and the Teamsters union. They give bits and pieces of information, clues and hints—but not a complete picture of what's really taking place.

In fact, they give a false impression—because they themselves are implicated in the conspiracy. Over the years they've portrayed a fight between supposedly decent labor leaders—a Harold Gibbons or a Don Peters—and mafia Godfathers, Capones and Catenas, Genoveses and Giancanas. Or they portray a fight between corrupt Teamsters like Provenzano or "Babe" Triscaro—and untouchable government reformers like Senator McClellan. Or they lead us to believe militant Teamster leaders like Louis Peick or Chicago Independent head Ed Fenner are battling hard-nosed trucking industry employers like Murphy of Gateway, Tormey of Roadway or Casey of UPS. **NONE OF THESE IS TRUE.**

When we've put the pieces together you'll see that a far difference picture emerges. What is taking place is a battle between **US**, the workers in this country on the one side, and **THEM**, the conspirators, on the other.

And who are they? Who are the conspirators?

First, they are a small number of employers, their bankers, and other big business men. Second, government bureaucrats and politicians. Third, the mafia, the syndicate, cosa nostra. And fourth, many of our union officials.

It is a battle between **US** and **THEM**. On our side, warehouse workers, dockmen, clerks, drivers, production and sales workers. And on their side, big business, powerful politicians, mafia figures, union fatcats and their flunkies, lawyers, journalists, etc.

The conspirators believe that we will go on in apathy and cynicism as we have for the last 20 years. But we've turned a few corners since Vietnam and Watergate and Hoffa's murder, and an opposition is rising to fight the conspiracy. Opposed to the conspiracy of Wallstreet tycoons, Washing-

ton bureaucrats and Philadelphia lawyers, opposed to sellout Teamster leaders and their mobster partners are thousands of working people in this country.

Throughout the freight industry and the Teamsters union, rank and file union members are standing up and saying one word: **NO**. They're saying: **NO**—you will not work us to death in your lousy junk trucks. **NO**—you will not take away our jobs and take the bread and butter from our tables. **NO**—you will not steal our dues and rob our pensions after we've broken our backs for a lifetime. **NO**—you will not destroy our homes and families so you can make another million bucks. And **NO**—you will not take our lives for standing up and saying "**NO**."

Thousands of workers around the country are becoming involved in a movement that will use the power of the rank and file Teamsters to say "**NO**" once and for all. That power is the power of our vast numbers—two million Teamsters. It is the power of our position in the economy—the power to strike. It is political power. And finally it is the power of our cause—justice.

We understand that saying "**NO**" means a fight. But, as this booklet will show, we have the power to win that fight, and not just because of our numbers. We have power because it is we, not the bosses or bureaucrats, who move this country's freight—and it is we who can stop it.

In fact, the fight is already on. Teamsters from all over the country are already fighting the conspiracy. Not only brave individuals here and there, but hundreds and thousands of rank and file Teamsters, from nearly every section of the union, are getting organized to fight for their lives. All of us need to learn how the conspiracy works and who's to blame. And about the opposition to this conspiracy.

Read the booklet. Learn the facts. And then make a decision: either lead, follow, or get the hell out of the way—because the fight is on.

# The Conspiracy

Here is how this plot to control the industry and the union works. There are four essential elements in their scheme:

- 1) the trucking monopolies;
- 2) their agents in the government;
- 3) their co-conspirators in the union's leadership;
- 4) the mobsters available for a price.

Let's look at some examples and see the who, how and why of it all.

1) **Trucking industry tycoons are driving toward the creation of enormous monopolies in order to garner huge super-profits.**

**Example:** Consolidated Freight has 17,000 employees. In addition to the freight industry, it owns Freightliner Corporation and makes its own trucks. Its rate of profit (return on investment) for 1974 was 18.3%. It paid its officers phenomenal salaries: W.G. White, Chairman of the Board and President, got \$234,000 in salary in 1974. R.F. O'Brien, Executive Vice President, got \$173,000. The top six officers averaged \$109,000 apiece.

Tycoons like the C.F. officers not only run that company but also dominate or influence other companies through interlocking directorates. The following men are board members of Consolidated Freight. Here are a few of the other companies and institutions they control or influence.

Consolidated Freight Board Members:

Robert L. Chambers—Chairman of the Board of Envirotech Corporation;

Francis E. Ferguson—President of Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company;

Philip S. Hill—Chairman of the Board of Hyster Corporation;

Hillman Lueddemann—Director of Commerce for the State of Oregon;

Eldred L. Shannon Jr.—President of Santa Fe International Corporation;

Russel G. Smith—Retired Executive Vice President of the Bank of America;

Neldon Tanner—Executive of the Church of Latter Day Saints (Mormons);

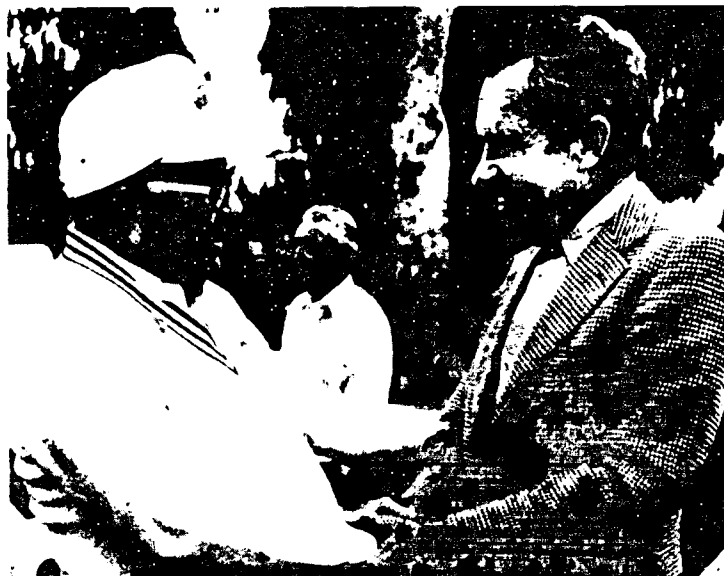
W. Maurice Young—Chairman of the Fining Tractor and Equipment Company of Vancouver, Canada.

And these are only the most important positions these men hold—they sit on the boards of even more companies.

2) The Congress and the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) are supposed to protect workers and consumers from abuses by the monopolies. **But the freight industry tycoons have bought the government agencies and the politicians who are supposed to protect us.** Here is just one small example.

Example: The ICC, charged with regulating the freight industry and protecting the American people, is owned lock, stock and barrel by the freight industry. Dale Hardin is a typical ICC Commissioner. Hardin was an ex-FBI agent. He was a congressional liaison officer for the ICC. Then he was a lawyer, first for the US Chamber of Commerce, then for the Transportation Association of America, and finally for the freight industry's American Trucking Association (ATA).

Then he was chosen for the job of ICC Commissioner by Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois. You see, Dirksen's political campaigns were partly paid for by the freight industry—the Association of Motor Bus Operators was one of his contributors. So Dirksen returned the favor by choosing Hardin, who had spent years as a flunky for the trucking monopolies, as ICC Commission-



"Watergate" Nixon, also known as "Wage Freeze" and "I Am Not A crook" Nixon, saw eye-to-eye with Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons. Fitz was the only union leader who supported all of Nixon's policies down to the end. They often got together for golf and to renew acquaintances with their many mutual friends, such as "Bebe" Rebozo.

er—Hardin now "protects" us from those same trucking monopolies!

3) These freight industry millionaires have also bought our so-called representatives, the union officers. And they're not above using the mafia to do their dirty work.

Example: Eastern Freightways Vice-President is mafioso Angelo Provenzano. One of his brothers is Anthony "Tony Pro" Provenzano, former head of IBT Local 560 and Joint Council 73. "Tony Pro" is the mafia gangster who did time for collusion with management to ensure "labor peace" at Dorn Transportation, for which he was paid \$6,000. "Tony Pro" has also been implicated in the murder of Walter Glockner, Dorn steward and small time gangster, and of James R. Hoffa. Another Provenzano brother, "Sam" Salvatore Provenzano, is the current head of Local 560. Eastern Freightways wanted to negotiate a merger with Associated Transport, a move which would have thrown 150 Associated

drivers out of work. Somehow Angelo Provenzano of Eastern and "Sam" Provenzano of the Teamsters were able to come to terms. Seventy-four laid off Associated drivers are now suing in Federal Court because the union didn't represent them.

These are the essential parts of this picture. How do they fit together? Bosses and bureaucrats, top Teamsters and mobsters are held together by family and friendship—they all move in the same slimy social circles.

Example: Here are parts of the picture coming together to give us a landscape. The picture is a group of golfers on the course of the La Costa Country Club near San Diego, California on October 9, 1975. The athletes on the course are:

Golfer #1: Richard M. Nixon, former President of the United States. A crook who used the power of his high office to engage the country in foreign wars for the profits of the big corporations and who attacked the living standard of American workers with his wage freeze. Who spied on and terrorized American citizens.

Golfer #2: Frank Fitzsimmons, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Indicted in 1957 for taking payoffs from an employer, he bribed the judge with \$40,000 for his election campaign to beat the rap. Fitz was Nixon's biggest labor supporter in 1972 and defender in 1973.

Golfer #3: John W. Murphy, head of Gateway Transportation Co., trustee of the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund and a close friend of Fitzsimmons. One of his company's 65 terminals was recently served with a subpoena about a missing steel drum that may have been used to ship Hoffa's body from Detroit to mobster Tony Provenzano in New Jersey.

Golfer #4: Tony Provenzano himself. Captain in the Vito Genovese mafia gang and former Vice-President of the International Brotherhood

of Teamsters. He was convicted and served time for accepting \$6,000 for "labor peace" at Dorn. Likely had steward William Glockner murdered. Probably had Hoffa killed.

Golfer #5: Allen Dorfman. Son of the Capone gangster Paul Dorfman. Allen is the financial wizard of the Chicago mob, manipulator of the \$1.3 billion Teamster Central States Pension Fund. He is just out of the cooler for receiving kickbacks on loans.

Golfer #6: Jacki Presser of Cleveland. This Teamster-Mobster gets \$200,000 a year in salary for his various Teamster offices. He became Pension Fund Trustee when his father William pleaded guilty to taking \$500,000 in union funds. Like father, like son.

Golfer #7: Allard Roen—an admitted stock swindler and developer of the La Costa Country Club, along with Moe Dalitz of the Detroit Purple Gang and the Cleveland mob. Sixty million dollars of Teamster Pension Fund money helped develop La Costa for the benefit of Roen, Dalitz and hidden owner Meyer Lansky.

The bosses, bureaucrats and union officers and their mafia cronies come together in just this way every day. They live in the same expensive suburbs, they belong to the same exclusive clubs. They travel to the same spas, casinos, and resorts. And in the bars, on the golf courses, or around the swimming pools of Miami, Vegas and La Costa these guys are making the decisions that are destroying our jobs, our wages and our working conditions. Is it any wonder that we're in such shape?

How do the decision of these scum affect us? To make their enormous super-profits, the trucking companies are pushing us all harder and faster. With no concern for our health, or our welfare, with no compassion and no common sense. UPS works its employees like galley slaves, and the union does nothing to defend them.

Example: Ambrose Bentele was a feeder driver

at UPS Northbrook hub in Chicago. He was pulling double forty-foot trailers. He had been writing up his tires, saying they didn't have enough tread. The supervisors told him that the tires were legal and that if he didn't take out the equipment, he'd be fired for refusing work. In November he pulled the double forties out of Northbrook heading south on I-94 in a rain storm, with gusts of wind up to 50 miles an hour. He hit a puddle, skidded into the guard rail, his cab was crushed and he was killed. The deals made over drinks at La Costa leave widows and orphans in the suburbs of Chicago.

And because of the union leadership's collusion with management and involvement in the rackets, our union locals and the IBT International are dictatorships where we have no power to speak out about our problems. The conspirators, in their drive for power, smash everything in their path. They lie, cheat, steal and swindle as a matter of course. They have and will beat, kidnap and murder when it is necessary.

Example: Teamster Local 320 in Miami was originally set up by International Vice President Joseph Morgan and his friends and fellow gangsters Frank Dioguardia, and James Plumeri. Lloyd Hicks, a rank and filer, decided to run as opposition candidate in Local 320. He announced his candidacy on Sunday, June 11, 1972. They murdered him on Tuesday, June 13.

That's a sketch of the conspiracy, who it is, how it works, and what it means to us. Let's take a closer look.

# Monopoly Power

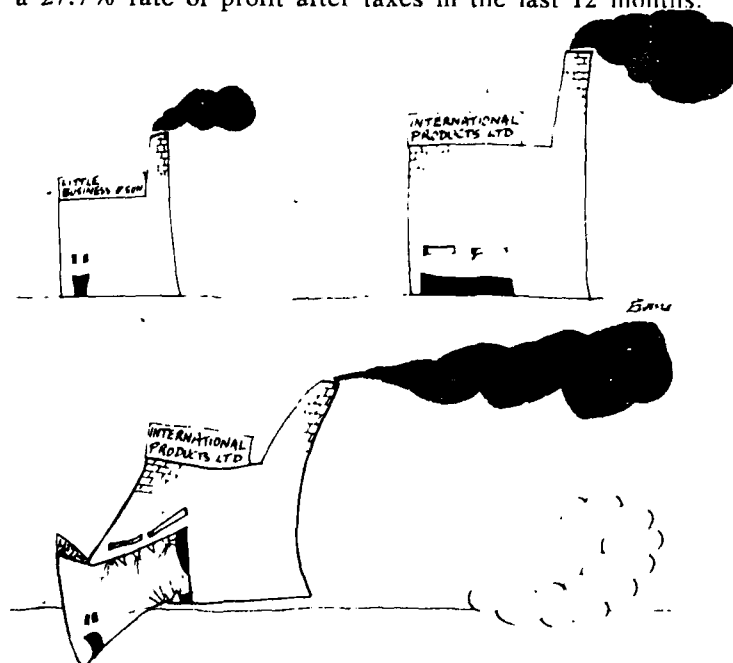
A frantic fight for control of the trucking industry is going on. It is a fight for monopoly. It is like what took place in the auto industry 25 years ago. Once there were Packards, Studebakers, Hudsons, La Salles, and dozens more kinds of cars. Today there are only GM, Chrysler, Ford and American. Today there are hundreds of trucking companies. In the near future, there will be much fewer.

The monopolists care about only one thing—profits. They're out to wipe out their competitors and corner the market. The rich and powerful in the trucking industry take advantage of recessions (1974-5) to do just that. Hundreds of small businessmen, independent owner operators, brokers and small trucking companies have been driven out of business. Where the growing monopolies have not wiped out the competition, they've bought it out. And as the monopolies grow, thousands of us lose our jobs and our seniority.

Just to take Chicago as an example. Wiped out: R and V Cartage, Roberts Cartage, Chicago Terminal Clearance, and dozens more. Bought out: Pic-Walsh by Gateway, Republic by Yellow, Viking and Hennis by Spector, Nighthawk by Checker, Binifield by Advance. And again there are dozens more. As these smaller companies are squeezed out, giant monopolies are created. Seventy-five years ago the railroad monopolies were called the Octopus, with tentacles reaching into the banks, the Congress, the Senate, and the White House. **The trucking industry is an Octopus of today. Look at these monsters:**

**Consolidated Freight** makes its own trucks through its Freightliner Corp., which accounts for 40% of its business.

**Leaseway** is a holding company that owns 80% of Anchor Motor Freight, which hauls for GM, which owns the other 20%. **Leaseway** owns 80% of **Signal Delivery**, which hauls for Sears, which owns the other 20%. While Signal is permanently laying off workers around the country, it made a 27.7% rate of profit after taxes in the last 12 months.



**McClellan** owns Winston Refining, whose oil profits boosted the overall rate of profit. **Ryder** is a leasing company that operates truck stops and truck rentals in Great Britain. Its **M + C subsidiary** has 760 trucks which haul for Chrysler.

**National City Truck Lines**, which owns TIME-DC, operates city buses in El Paso, manufactures car and truck parts and does car and heavy hauling.

**Pacific Intermountain Express** is owned by a \$2 billion conglomerate, **IU International Corp.** with \$90 million profits after taxes. It is a natural gas and electric utilities corporation that also has oil, mines and agribusiness in Hawaii. **Interstate Motor Freight (IMF)** is owned by another conglomerate, **Fuqua Industries**, with one-half billion in

sales. It makes boats, sports and grain storage equipment, and owns 271 movie theatres in 12 states.

**Sea-Land** is owned by the Reynolds family, which controls large parts of American finance and industry. One branch of the family owns Reynolds Aluminum, and another controls Reynolds tobacco. It is the tobacco branch which owns Sea-Land.

#### INCOME OF THE TOP U.P.S. OFFICERS

	James Casey	Harold Oberkottter	Paul Oberkottter	James P. McLaughlin
Incentive Award		\$14,300	\$13,200	\$17,600
Stock Owned				
Shares	\$1,017,924	\$380,000	\$410,478	\$185,912
2% Stock Dividend				
Shares	\$20,358	\$7,600	\$8,210	\$3,718
\$17 Share Salary	\$346,086	\$129,200	\$139,570	\$63,206
		\$81,259	\$75,021	\$68,831
32 Cents Dividend/share	\$325,736	\$121,600	\$131,353	\$59,492
Total Income	\$671,872	\$224,759	\$219,514	\$145,923

The immense profits of the trucking industry go to benefit a few rich families. The Roush family owns 50% of the stock of Roadway, worth \$73 million. In 1974 alone, the share of profits going to the family was \$17 million. They pay their executives high to manage their affairs. John L. Tormey got \$522,782 in 1974. The top 24 executives of Roadway averaged \$169,059 apiece. The O'Neill family owns 42% of the stock of Leaseway, worth \$39 million. The officers and directors of Yellow Freight, particularly the Powell family and Wilson M. Williams, own 42% of the stock, worth \$42 million. Yellow Freight, which had 1974 profits of \$27,881,000 (31.09% of investment!), paid its chairman of the Board, George E. Powerll, Jr. a salary of \$112,609. He also got stock options and dividends from Yellow worth \$256,000. The President of Yellow, Donald L. McMorris, got a salary of \$101,589 and

dividends of \$53,000. A. Ryder of Ryder System gets \$216,000 a year, \$34,431 on retirement and \$6402 in deferred salary (to avoid taxes).

United Parcel Service is by far the biggest of these monsters, with 70,000 workers, of whom some 60,000 are covered by contracts with 219 Teamsters locals around the country. At UPS the eleven Board Directors owned \$50 million worth of stock in 1973, with the founder James E. Casey, owning \$25 million alone.

#### PROFITS AFTER TAXES, AS % OF STOCKHOLDERS EQUITY OF THE TEN LARGEST TRUCK COMPANIES

	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969
UPS	12.7%	16.9%	26.5%	26.8%	20.8%	22.6%
CF	18.3	6.9	18.9	20.1	9.3	18.4
Leaseway	19.5	24.8	24.6	25.9	11.5	18.7
McCleane	19.9	21.1	21.8	18.3	13.2	20.3
Roadway	23.0	22.5	24.9	24.3	16.0	15.3
Nat'l City	0	7.8	9.9	11.6	2.3	6.6
Ryder	0	13.0	12.1	13.8	10.2	17.6
Smithy	16.9	17.7	21.3	23.3	16.7	16.2
Trans-Corn	11.0	10.9	11.0	17.1	3.8	11.8
Yellow	24.1	22.2	23.8	24.6	17.0	18.9

As we showed with our first example of Consolidated Freightways, the tentacles of the leading trucking companies reach into the biggest industrial corporations and banks. This economic octopus reaches into other banks and corporations by means of interlocking directorships. That is, a member of the Board of Directors of one company is also a member of the Board of another company. That usually means one company sells goods to the other or loans it money. Here are some notorious examples: W. Yost Fulton of Roadway, a director, is Chairman of the Board of Fulton, Reid & Staples, investment bankers, a key financial connection. David Hughers of Yellow is a senior Vice President of Hallmark Cards. Dr. L.L. Waters, also of Yellow, is Professor at the



School of Business at Indiana University in Bloomington. University professors are a respectable cover for the conspiracy of big business. The Murphy family, which owns Gateway Transportation, has one member on the board of Trustees of a Wisconsin university, and another sits on the Board of Directors of the Mid-City National Bank in Chicago (where, incidentally, Fenner's Independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union is headquartered.)

A few years ago Ralph Nader's study group report on the Interstate Commerce Commission and the transportation industry found that

"There are increasingly fewer trucking companies, the average company is growing larger, and the largest companies are capturing greater proportions of the total business volume of the industry...many carriers appear to have substantial monopoly power." "A few firms increasingly dominate the entire transportation marked under ICC regulation."

This is a masterpiece of understatement. To put it clearly, the octopus of big business hungers for profit, and from the viewpoint of the octopus, we workers are just so much debris or wreckage, left scattered when it has satisfied its appetites.

The conspirators who control the trucking industry, the Roush's, the O'Neill's, the Powell's and Williams' and Casey's are also able, with their wealth to buy and sell government agencies, congressmen and senators. We already showed that typical ICC commissioner Dale Hardin was a bought-and-paid-for agent of the trucking industry. But the entire ICC is run by the trucking corporations.

The Nader study we referred to above showed that "most (ICC) appointees are quietly 'cleared' by industry groups before selection. In effect, the clearing process means prior approval by the American Trucking Association...and on occasion (by) relevant labor interests." That is, the conspiracy of trucking industry tycoons and Teamster officers pick the men who supposedly "control" the trucking industry.

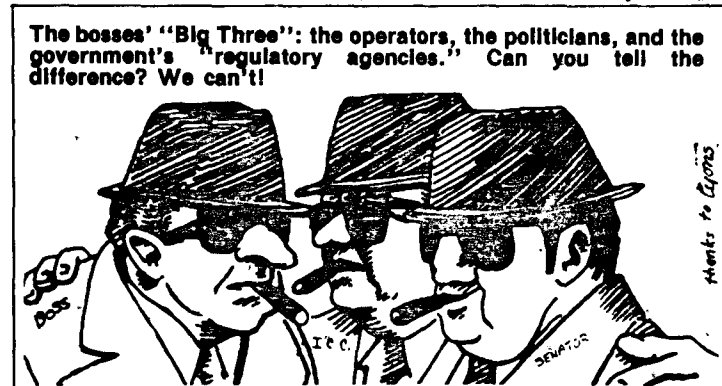
And once they've been picked, they're well paid. To quote Nader once more:

"During the summer of 1969 it was revealed

that members of the ICC traveling to industry functions at public expense were receiving free hotel rooms, meals and other expenses from the industries that the ICC regulates...Industry regularly pays for luncheons, hotel rooms, even a hairdresser...Commissioners and upper staff are commonly transported around at their convenience by corporate jets, private rail cars, and pleasure yachts...On-the-spot examination of surface transportation meccas in the popular convention spots of Hawaii, Puerto Rico or the Bahamas does not seem worth the expense of the Commissioners."

The trucking industry buys congressmen and senators just as it does ICC Commissioners. The American Trucking Association (ATA) and the Truck Operators Non-Partisan League (TONL) and other industry organizations distributed tens of thousands of dollars to congressmen and senators to get what they want. For example, in 1968, TONL distributed \$73,456.50 in bribes to get a bill through Congress allowing bigger, heavier trucks. Another form of bribes is industry advertising in political party convention programs. In 1964, the Democratic Convention program had \$1,335,000 in advertising—sixteen pages of it was advertising from trucking companies.

Corrupt union and mafia figures are also active in politics.



Hoffa's lawyer, Morris Shenker was a member of the mob; he is also a member of the St. Louis Crime Commission and a big wheel among St. Louis Democrats. Louis Peick, whose

Local 705 was indicted for extortion is under investigation for collusion with syndicate cartage companies, is a member of the Chicago Police Board. Daniel Shannon, formerly Chicago Mayor Daley's Park District Commissioner, is now head of the Central States Pension Fund.

The Teamsters' official political operation is of course DRIVE. Through DRIVE the IBT collected thousands of dollars for Nixon. And Fitzsimmons of course personally backed Nixon's corrupt regime right on through to the resignation. Thousands of Teamster dollars went to an administration that imposed wage controls and was consistently anti-labor. Thousands more have gone to scores of politicians who share the conspiracy's concern for super-profits and monopolization.

You can see that a handful of individuals and families control the trucking industry's giant monopolies, the octopuses of our economic world. With their tremendous economic power, they dominate the freight industry, and large parts of our economy. **Together with the bosses of the steel industry, auto and so on they control the government—it is their government. They are part of the ruling class of this country.**

The conspiracy is not a plot to take power—it is a plot to keep it. For families like these and their flunkies have held power in this country almost since it was founded. They fought with all of their power against the creation of unions. When they could no longer keep workers from organizing to improve their wages and working conditions, they decided to buy their leaders.

These conspirators are not Jews as some groups would have us believe, nor are they Catholics. Nor are they Masons as others tell us. The conspiracy is non-denominations. You need not be any particular religion to join—just filthy rich and ruthless.

The major threat to this country does not come from without, but from within. In fact, the threat comes from above. The biggest threat is not Russia or China or any other so-called Communist country. The biggest threat to our lives comes from the conspiracy of the vicious and corrupt capitalist ruling class of this country—better known as big business.

## We Are Paying With Our Lives

How does this conspiracy affect us? How do we feel the squeeze of the tentacles of the octopus?

If you work in the freight industry, you take a beating. If you drive, you stand a good chance of having your kidneys beaten loose, of losing your hearing because of the beating your ears take from the noise of the engine, of getting a hernia because of the beating you take moving the freight. If you work on the dock, the chances are good that you too will get a hernia, strain your back, fall off the truck or a dock, be run into by a jeep, or have a load fall on you. You too take a beating. Thousands of drivers, dockworkers and warehousemen are injured, maimed and killed for the trucking companies' profits every year.

And every Friday we're robbed. Because after sacrificing our health and risking our lives all week, we get less than half the wealth which we produced by doing the work. It was us after all who typed the bills, or handled the freight or drove the trucks. And yet the parasites who hold the stocks and bonds and the over-paid officers and supervisors of the companies get over half of the wealth we produced.

In 1973 each worker in the freight industry produced an average of \$22,560 in total wealth. But the average take-home pay of a worker with three children was only \$13,514, of which \$2,125 went to the government. What happened to the rest? Well, the employer got \$9,046 of the wealth produced by that worker. Put the employer's share and the government's share together and you can see that the bosses and the bureaucrats got half of what the worker produced. A 50-50 split, and the bosses and bureaucrats

didn't do a bit of the work.

And the wages we do get are being stolen from us. Taken from us as withholding taxes before we even see our checks, taken from us through inflation which makes our wages worth less, lost in the form of union dues for which we get no representation, and in the form of pension payments for a pension many of us will never get.



Yes, we should all be goddamned angry—because we're being victimized daily.

Let's look at the specifics of the situation more closely.

The wages we are paid are the result of a long fight between us and management. That our wages are as good as they are is due to the strength of our union in the past. That they are not better is due to the weakness of our unions today.

Under the last contract we won only \$.90 and had an \$.11 per year cap on the cost of living clause. With inflation for the last two years running around 10 percent, that meant that we lost over half a dollar in real wages each year of the contract.

But in addition, many of us in the freight industry were not covered by the master freight agreement wages, due to local riders or supplements, due to relief committees, and due to sell-outs by the International or local officials.

Here are a few cases. It is estimated that in the New Jersey area, 50-80% of trucking workers are getting pay and benefits below the Master Freight Agreement standard. Becker's Motor Transport of Woodbridge, N.J. has a special agreement with Local 863 which allows them to pay drivers as little as \$4.11 per hour.

Fast Overnight Express (FOX), a small cartage company in Chicago, is supposed to have a contract with IBT 705—but its drivers don't all receive union wages and benefits. SA-Day Cartage is supposed to have a contract with the Chicago Truck Drivers Union (CTDU)—but its drivers don't all receive benefits. Associated Truck Lines (ATL) has a contract with the CTDU—but a special separate agreement allows ATL to use brokers while union drivers are laid-off.

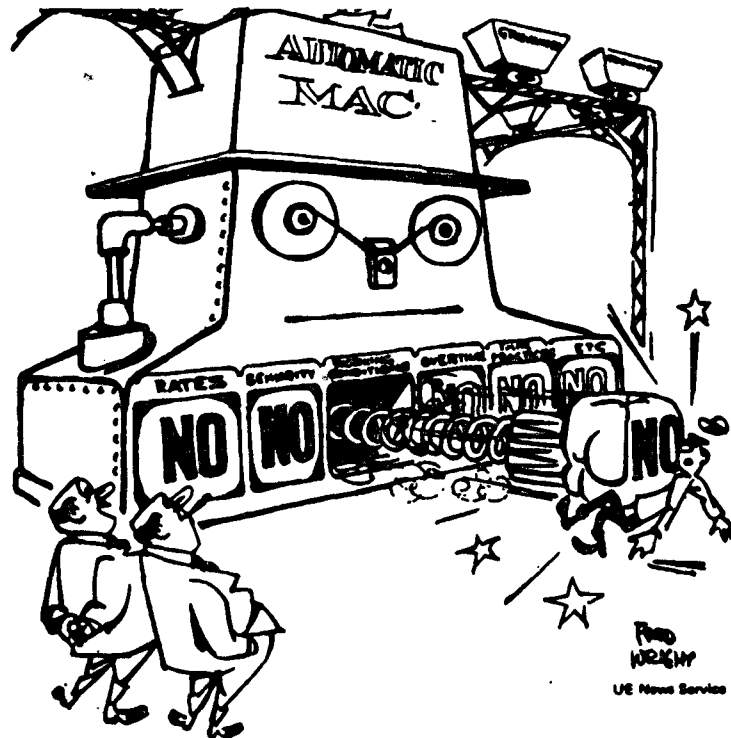
Around the country local riders and supplements, grievance committees, decisions on changes of operation and relief are used to allow the companies to steal our wages, our benefits and destroy our conditions. Biggest sell-out of all, of course, was the last master freight agreement.

But wages are only one of our problems. The fight for control of the freight industry by the power hungry business conspiracy has been devastating to those of us who make a living behind the steering wheel of a truck or on the docks in a number of other ways as well. Job security is perhaps the

greatest problem we face.

As we said above, the richest, most powerful trucking employers have not suffered from the recession as wage-earning drivers have. The trucking octopus has grown fat on the depression, gorging itself with small companies and our jobs. They've used the recession to reorganize the industry, and their mergers and buyouts have put hundreds of drivers on the street. The companies' strategy in many cases has been to throw out older drivers or dock workers who have earned long paid vacations and are nearing pension age. Often it has been drivers with 10 or 20 years seniority and four or five week vacations who were turned out in the streets, saving the companies hundreds of thousands in paid vacations and saving the pension fund thousands of dollars in retirement monies.

When Yellow Freight bought out Republic Carloading, for



"See how well our automatic grievance machinery works!"

example, they threw 240 workers out of their jobs in Chicago alone. Yellow and the local unions IBT 710 and the CTDU, seemed happy to see them go, particularly since they were primarily militant black and Latin workers.

Another disaster for us has been the movement of break-bulk and dispatch terminals and the widespread use of satellite terminals. Satellites in Los Angeles have disrupted the lives of the drivers there, causing more commuting, some layoffs, making communication with other union members in the same company and the same city difficult. Such a movement or creation of new terminals also means changes of operations and work rules, which usually means we lose traditional benefits and protection.

After Gateway in Chicago bought Pic-Walsh, it reorganized its terminal, closing the giant terminal at 103rd and Harlem and moving work to satellites around the city in Chicago Ridge, Wheeling, etc. Some drivers were laid off, others who lived on the far south side had to bid on runs out of far northwest Wheeling, 40 miles away.

Mike Ryan, one of the Gateway drivers, was laid off October 24, 1974, and remained laid off through 1975. In addition to Gateway laying him off, the State of Illinois screwed up his unemployment compensation benefits and he didn't get a single check for 22 weeks. He was put in the position of borrowing from his friends and begging time from his creditors. Mike Ryan knows what their fight for monopolies is doing to us.

Some trucking companies have moved from one city to another to get themselves better terms—that is, lower wages and fewer benefits. Hi-Low Grocery in Chicago for example had a contract for its warehouse workers with the Chicago Truck Drivers Union. In order to lower wages Hi-Low gave the work to Globe Warehouse, organized by IBT 738. The workers at Globe were paid \$1.00 less. About 100 Hi-Low drivers, clerks, and warehouse workers were laid off as a result of the change.

And of course the greater use of pallets and skids, of containers, pigs, doubles, and drop loads means more layoffs. Time-study and productivity, especially at UPS but also in the grocery houses, is another way of pushing more of us out of jobs. The bosses are forced to introduce these in

order to stay in business—but it is taking away our jobs.

Those of us who've been lucky enough to keep our jobs find our working conditions are being ruined. The tentacles of the octopus reach right into the joint grievance committees. The grievance committees are not used to protect us, but to re-write the contract in favor of the employer. Many grievances aren't even written up, stewards and business agents tell us, "Why do you want to rock the boat? Don't make waves! You're lucky you got a job!" And they refuse to take up our grievances. Those that are taken up are often lost at the lowest levels. Those that get further dead-lock and go to the area joint grievance committee. At the joint committee union officials and company representa-



**VICTIM OF LETHAL FUMES IN A TANNERY  
IN MILWAUKEE GETS A CARDIAC MASSAGE  
FROM A FIREMAN. (MILWAUKEE JOURNAL)**

tives work out a settlement pleasing to them but leaving us completely out of the picture. Relief committees are also used to re-write the contract in the interest of the employer. The bosses pull their pockets inside out, plead financial problems, and the union officials let them violate our contract.

A big part of our deteriorating working conditions is of course the poor health and safety situation. To save their profits and beat the competition, the bosses push us harder and faster. But it is costing our lives. First, road drivers are simply worked too long. The Federal Highway Administration's Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety reported in 1973 that after only four hours of driving, drivers made more errors and their alertness decreased. After seven hours, the accident rate increased greatly.

The report stated:

"Driver performance deteriorates, driver alertness diminishes, rest breaks become less effective, and accident probability increases, all within the current 10-hour daily limitation on driving time."

But the companies force road drivers to work as many as 15 hours or more. Runs are often 400 or 500 miles or more apart. Companies force drivers to speed, they overload our trucks, and give us unsafe, defective equipment, with bad trailer breaks and bad tires being the most common problems. They also force us to drive doubles. Too many Teamsters will take the ditch this year because of this situation.

Those of us who aren't killed in accidents caused by the employers will live on to die of diseases caused by them. Dr. Donald Dawson, a medical researcher says this:

"Generally, you find that a professional driver is healthy up to about age 40. But in the 38-to-45 age group, problems start to emerge—emphysema, hypertension, kidney disease."

According to Dawson's investigations, the most dangerous conditions we face are air pollution in the cab, vibration of our whole body, noise, and emotional strain and fatigue. Dawson says:

"A driver can look forward to 40-to-50 hours a week of pollution at levels that could make him

likely to develop lung cancer, emphysema, chronic bronchitis, and other lung ailments."

One driver wrote to Dawson about the conditions in his truck:

"The fumes are killing us...There is a peculiar fume along with the regular diesel fume that is causing us to be dizzy and I know one driver that passed out because of this. You can get out on a lunch break and can hardly walk to the restaurant, but once you get out for a few minutes you are all right until you get started again. The engines are so full of diesel fuel, when you get to the end of your trip, your socks and underwear are as black as pure oil."

Dawson believes that sitting in a vibrating cab all day can cause high blood pressure, faster heart beat, and if extreme, can cause death by shocking vital organs. The vibrations cause kidney disease, back problems, and may cause more lung damage than other problems such as fumes.

Noise in trucks often exceeds 100 decibels—while the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) says that 90 decibels should be the maximum.

Even if we are lucky enough to make it through a life in this industry, many of us will not retire in dignity and comfort. Some cases of stolen pensions have become famous. Stanley Flowers of Richfield, Ohio, Local 24, was denied a pension in 1971 because the Local claimed he was two years short of qualifying. Flowers had spend 30 years working in the industry and was eligible for a \$300/month benefit. Flowers has spent the last five years trying to win his case in court and to explain the pension rip-off to other Teamsters.

Ed O'Brien, a truck driver for Denver-Midwest in Chicago told his story in a local teamster paper, the *Grapevine*. He worked over twenty years in the industry but couldn't retire when he planned. He had worked for the Charles Levy Circulating Company (Local 706) from 1948 to 1970. Then he worked for Denver Midwest (Local 705) from 1970 to the present. But he could not get a pension because Local 706 claimed he had only 19 years and 10 months of service; they claimed he didn't join the local until 1953 and that he wasn't eligible because at the time he requested his pension, he

wasn't working for an employer covered by the Local's contract and contributing into their fund. IBT 706 officials also told him that every year he was away from the local he would lose 25% of his service and after 4 years lose it all. And in addition, #705 and #706 had no reciprocity. As Ed says, "Although I feel like half my life has been stolen, I am still fortunate that I have found this out now, while I am 45 years old, and not when I am in my sixties, like has happened to others."

While the Pension Reform Act does protect us to some extent, it is still no guarantee of a pension. High unemployment (due to the recession, the mergers, the



**He gets a pension; why shouldn't you?**

bankruptcies and the other problems caused by the trucking conspiracy) means many of us cannot make payments into the plan when we are laid off for long periods. The question of job security is directly tied to that of pensions.

And the conspiracy doubly victimizes blacks and Latin workers in the freight industry, first by exclusion, then by discrimination.

In Chicago blacks are 15% of the work force but only 9.4% of the freight industry. Latins (Mexicans and Puerto Ricans) are 5% of the work force and 3.1% of freight. In Detroit, blacks make up 16.3% of the workers in the metropolitan area, but only 7.4% of freight workers. In Cleveland, blacks are 14% of the work force but only 6.3% of freight.

The companies are primarily to blame for this situation. Navajo Freight Lines, which has more than 600 over-the-road drivers, didn't have one black or Latin up to 1970. McClean Trucking Co. of Winston-Salem, N.C., has a subsidiary Modern Automotive Services (MAS) which only hired blacks as garagemen and janitors. W.T. Grant, a large retailer in Charlotte, N.C., had its fleet operation, a small long-line truck company, all white, and hired blacks only for one of seventeen job classifications, in the Consolidation operation, its warehouse. In general blacks and Latins are confined to janitor, dock worker, serviceman or city driver, while over-the-road and white-collar jobs are reserved for whites.

The companies are mainly to blame for this situation because they control hiring, but the Teamsters union has done nothing over the years to challenge it. The companies benefit from this discrimination by being able to pit whites against blacks and so keep the work force divided. Since over-the-road jobs pay more, those whites who had them would think of themselves as privileged and would feel that their good fortune depended on keeping blacks out. The blacks, on the other hand, would be resentful of being denied better job opportunities and take out their resentments on white workers who seem to be the immediate beneficiaries of this system, rather than the companies, who designed the whole set up. The logic of racial discrimination on the job can best be seen in the South, where the gap between blacks and whites is greatest, and white workers get lower wages than

whites in the North.

Women workers are virtually excluded from good-paying freight jobs. When they are even allowed in the industry, they are relegated to clerical jobs. The IBT has some 200,000 women members, about 10% of its membership, but the majority are in low-paying, substandard jobs. Sweetheart contracts govern many of the factories and offices where women IBT members work.

Even where women are hired, in token proportions, such as UPS, they are ruthlessly harassed. Management generally does not like to hire women for driving or loading jobs. So they run them, threaten to put them on dangerous night assignments, and try to demoralize them through sexual harassment. When none of that works, the company tries to agitate the men against the women, often by claiming to give women special treatment. It's an old game—the tragedy is that all too often it works, because the men fall for that old baloney.

A rank and file movement that plans to take on the conspiracy and change the IBT is going to have to unite young and old, white, black and Latin, men and women. It can only do that if the movement defends and fights for all of these workers. That means fighting discrimination, racial, sexual, or any other kind. No attempt to bury the realities of discrimination in this country will unite anyone. Every Teamster must know that this movement will fight for him or her.

It will be impossible to successfully change the IBT without an alliance between white, black and Latin workers, men as well as women. But such an alliance will be impossible if our black Teamster brothers and sisters see white Teamsters fighting beside them in the union, but against them in their neighborhoods and schools. Alabama owner-operators have come out against busing. Massachusetts Teamsters passed resolutions against busing. We believe that is not only an injustice, but a grave mistake. If we are to build a united movement to take over our union, we must support equal access to jobs for minorities and women, fight for an end to discrimination and we must defend the right of blacks and Latins to attend any school and live in any neighborhood.

To take on the octopus of the trucking industry and the

Teamsters officials with this rank and file form of organizing may seem impossible. But this method of finding a few concerned and dedicated men and women in each local who will stand up to the employers and union officials will work and has worked in the past.



**Frank Fitz-Sellout, Washington, Miami, La Costa, Las Vegas, IBT President:** "No comment." Actually, one TDC member barely avoided arrest while gathering straw at a Washington construction site to provide this dummy with some guts.

## The Union

And finally, there's our union, which is supposed to bargain for us and protect us. It is doing virtually nothing for us. Most locals in the country have the same problems. At the top is a small clique of officers, most of whom are making double, triple or quadruple what we in the industry are making. They live in another world. They don't have to drive the trucks or work on the docks, they don't have to face layoff, unemployment, welfare, foodstamps. They have late model Buicks and Caddies and live in the most expensive houses in the finest suburbs. Often stewards are bought off with favors, gifts and the promise of one day being a BA. The stewards, by the same token, protect their few friends in the barn and ignore the others.

The local Peick, or Presser, or Fenner, or Fitzsimmon, or Provenzano, or Matual makes the decisions, and the well-oiled machine carries them out. In many locals, stewards are appointed. Some locals, like the Chicago Truck Drivers Union, have no membership meetings at all; most locals have meetings in name only. The union officers, business agents, appointed stewards and a few ass-lickers show up and vote as the local dictator orders. If a question is asked or someone has a different opinion or idea, that member is called out of order, shouted down, labeled a communist, or roughed up.

If members try to fight for their rights at work and the employer fires them, they may get their job back if they promise the union and boss they will spend the rest of their life on their knees. If they are an unrepenting militant, so much the worse. Militants are blacklisted, driven out of the



industry. Phil Martinez, a driver for D&L Transport, was a militant in the tanker division of IBT 705 in Chicago. He led a group called Teamster Ranks United to Help (TRUTH) which fought for pension reform and better representation. He also led demonstrations calling for rejection of the Tanker Division's last contract. And he participated in a nationwide rank and file movement called Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) in 1970. Phil has been fired by D&L. He can't find work. Wonder why.

Bob Grant was a leader in the Mulvahill barn in Chicago which had trucks leased to Central Steel and Wire. He organized protests against unsafe trucks that had no stakes or chains, holes in the floor, etc. He was fired. The Chicago Truck Drivers Union took the side of the company! Grant has taken the case to the Labor Department, but he still hasn't been returned to work. He then got another job at American Stevadoring. While working there, he decided to run for office as Trustee of the Chicago Truck Drivers Union. As he campaigned, he was gaining rank and file support in the union, and it looked like he might even win. Then, suddenly, American Stevadoring fired him for falsification of application. He took the case to arbitration and won. But **the union** asked that the decision be re-interpreted! It was, and he still has not been returned to work.

Joe Nabach of IBT 804 worked for United Parcel Service in New York. He was a leader of the rank and file UPSurge movement there. The company set him up for an accident, had one of their flunkies run into his package car (straight truck), and then fired him, claiming drunk driving. The case went to arbitration and even though Joe had affidavits from witnesses, he lost the case.

Even when the rank and file of a particular local get themselves together and organize to defend their working conditions, their jobs and wages, to organize the unorganized and to fight discrimination—then the International always seems to step in.

When Jim Marketti and Bill Eaton of Local 695 in Madison, Wisconsin, were seriously organizing the unorganized cannery workers, beverage drivers and cab drivers, the International stepped in and put the local in trusteeship. Both Marketti and Eaton were forced to leave

the local. When union reformer Otie Lofton ran as the head of an opposition slate in Memphis Local 667, the International stepped in and ruled the election invalid. When reformers like Lloyd Barrentine in Local 878 in Little Rock tried to clean up their local and protect their conditions, the International threatened a trusteeship.

All of the sell-outs described above occur for four main reasons:

1) The officers of our union have lost all touch with the rank and file. Over 18 top IBT officials make about \$100,000 per year apiece in salaries. Ed Fenner of the Chicago Truck Drivers Union makes \$90,000. Jackie Presser of Cleveland makes over \$200,000. The officers make large salaries, have large expense accounts, expensive cars and homes in the wealthy suburbs where the bosses live. They do not know our problems, and what's more, they don't care.

2) The officers of the union are directly tied to the employers, in fact are sometimes employers themselves. Jimmy Hoffa, through his wife, owned trucking companies. The Provenzano family in New Jersey owns trucking companies. Art Costello, number two man of the CTDU, married into a trucking company family. The Chicago Unions have investment in Gateway. A union official who has ties to the trucking industry cannot represent us.

3) Many union officers are part of, work with, or are influenced by organized crime. The mafia, the mob, is not the conspiracy, it is only a small part of it. By comparison with big business, the mafia is a small time hustle. But sometimes big business takes the mafia in as a junior partner to do its dirty work. After all, the mafia are businessmen too—they are just capitalists who trade in **illegal** goods and services. As such, their influence in the union officialdom is always a block to union militancy and democracy. They are out to make money for themselves, not to represent us effectively.

4) The union leadership, at almost every level, shares the bosses' outlook. Like the bosses, they believe that big profits make for big wages. So even when they are sincere about wage increases, they are willing to sell working conditions, safety standards, job security, and scores of other things we need as much as wages. In fact, because they are so

concerned about the "health" of the industry, i.e., with the conspiracy's super-profits, they really don't even push for decent wages.

When GLX in Michigan asked for a 10% wage cut because business wasn't going well, the IBT officials advised the workers to accept it. They did this because they agree with the bosses' view of the world. But the fact is, it is not the bosses who create the wealth from which our wages are paid. It is the workers who create the wealth from which their profits are robbed—legally to be sure. Union leaders who worry about the bosses' problems can never really fight for what we need even if they are honest and not on the employer's payroll.



## We Have the Power

At this point you may be saying, "Well, we can't do anything about it. They have the wealth and power on their side. They have the lawyers and the politicians, the judges and the newspapers. We are powerless." Well, that's not true. Because in fact we have two tremendous weapons on our side.

First is our power: we move the freight, we are at the center of the transportation industry of this entire nation. We are the workers who make it go in the streets, in the offices and factories. We produce their wealth and power. And we can make it all stop.

Second is our cause. They leave a trail of disaster behind them. In their selfish fight for power and profit, they are leaving rack and ruin, unemployment, depression and inflation. Political and union corruption. Their money goes to the wealthy parasites who live off of us, to political payoffs, to goons and gangsters, to prostitution, pimps and drugs.

We are fighting to end this. We are fighting for a good job. For a nice home and a happy home life. We are fighting for justice and freedom, and that is a powerful weapon which can rally millions of people in this country to our side.

When we have convinced our union brothers and sisters of our just cause and when we have organized to use our power—then we will break the stranglehold of the monster that has us in its grip.

This power has been demonstrated before. In 1973 the oil companies—Exxon, Arco, Gulf Standard and others—conspired to raise the price of gas and diesel fuel claiming a phoney fuel shortage. It hurt us all, almost everyone in this

country was angry. But as citizens we were powerless to force the politicians to do anything. As consumers we were also powerless. A lot of us thought about boycotting petroleum products. But how do you boycott gas and oil in a country that runs on them?

But then something started to happen. The livelihood of the owner-operator truckers depends on the availability and price of fuel to move the big-rigs that carry a good part of the freight back and forth across this country. In truck stops across the country, over the CB radios, in small meetings in their homes, the independent owner operators started to talk. Most of them working men and women like us, guys who own one truck and worked 8 to 15 hours a day driving. They started to talk and the talk spread.

In a truck stop in Alabama a driver said—NO—they aren't going to take away my job. And in a barn in Tuscon a driver said NO—they aren't going to force me to lose my home. At Pop's place just east of Cleveland, and at the big truck stop in Hammond just outside of Gary, at the joint in Scranton, drivers said NO. They talked, they organized and they fought back.

They drove their rigs out on the Interstate Highways and then—they shut them off. They stopped their trucks on the freeway interchanges of Los Angeles and they blocked the bridges and tunnels of New York and New Jersey. It was their way of saying NO.

And off and on for a couple of weeks, from one end of this country to another, the freight didn't move. The conspirators—the oil companies and their politicians—called out the cops and called out the national guard. They got on the phone and they threatened, they got on the radio and they whined, they went on TV and they pleaded. But finally the government was forced to meet with the owner-operators and negotiate. There was no legal precedent for this. But the heads of state of the most powerful nation in the world had to sit down and talk to those truck drivers. You know what they call us, those "goddamned dumb truck drivers."

Now that entire movement was carried out without an organization and without leadership and without direction. The independents had only a weak organization and no recognized leaders, so when they shut down the country, a

bunch of lawyers and politicians jumped up and started negotiating for time, and I believe they were sold out. But despite the disorganization and the lack of leadership, the owner-operators shut it down. If they had had a strong, centralized organization and a national steering committee of respected leaders, they could have bargained for just about anything they wanted.

The 1974 owner-operators strike wasn't the first time such a thing happened. Most of us remember the 1970 strike, when the Chicago Independent rejected the wage gain negotiated by the Teamsters. The employers in Chicago locked us out, but nationally there was a Teamster wild-cat strike to get the higher wages Chicago was asking.

Truck drivers and dock workers of the Los Angeles locals, in particular 208, walked out of the barns and terminals for paid sick leave that had been promised them. It was their way of saying NO. They walked out off the job, got in their cars, drove to San Francisco, 430 miles north, and they spread the wildcat strike to the entire Oakland and San Francisco Bay area. And the wildcat spread across the country. The Trucking Employers Incorporated and the American Trucking Association said they wouldn't give another penny. In various places their politicians called out the cops and the guard. But finally the employers were forced to sit down and bargain and knuckle under.

There were weaknesses in that strike, too. The International did not organize a total shutdown that could have made the strike more effective and shorter. And for scores of wildcatters who were fired, the settlement was a sell-out, because they never got their jobs back.

But those strikes showed—we have the power. They may have the cops and the courts and the lawyers and the politicians and the hoodlums. But we have the numbers and the power. America's needs **don't** move by truck. They move by truck driver, by dock worker, by clerk.

The power is there. The question is how to get it for the rank and file worker and union member and how to keep it in the hands of the rank and filer. **The strategy for overthrowing the conspiracy of big business, government bureaucracy and sell-out labor officials is the key question facing the American worker today.**

# Organize the Power

The key to the strategy is **rank and file organization**. We have seen the enormous power of the 1970 and '73 shutdowns. With organization such strikes could be a thousand times more powerful. Even at the level of each work place, organization can change things. With organization, rank and file teamsters can move the union to action and fight the employers when the union won't move.

Another key element in this strategy is **program**. An organized rank and file leadership that shares the same program, that agrees on what needs to be done, has power beyond its numbers and organization. **Unity around a common program**, one that the vast majority of teamsters can get behind, can inspire confidence among the workers. Rank and filers who see a unified and determined leadership at the head of an organized movement will be willing to fight and take chances when that is necessary.

To those of us who have seen union leaders squabble among themselves for self-serving ends, who have even seen a rank and file movement, Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) collapse into disunity, it may seem hard to believe that such a movement can be built. But, the fact is, **that movement is already being built**. The key elements for such a movement are already taking shape. The human resources, the programmatic ideas, even the beginning of organization are forming up today in the heart of the Teamsters' union.

Let's look at some of the things that are going on, some of the signs of change:

Earlier this pamphlet mentioned how the International put IBT #695 in Madison, Wisconsin into trusteeship when Eaton

and Marketti went out and organized the unorganized cannery workers, beverage and cab drivers. Well, when Fitzsimmons of the International put #695 under International management, they sent in Frank Ranney's boys from Milwaukee Local #200 to run the show. Ranney is a trustee of the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund and an International Vice-President. The business agents from Milwaukee ran the local, put the union funds in Milwaukee banks and offended many local members with their high-handed methods.

So a few of the members of Local 695 got together and they formed an organization called Teamsters for Democracy (TFD). They circulated literature about the situation in the local and defended the policies of Eaton and Marketti. They exposed the tactics of the International and they took the International to the Labor Department. They demanded an immediate end to the trusteeships, a new election, and TFD put forward a slate of candidates. They held a TFD convention last summer and got over 100 representatives of various barns and canneries to come and pledge their support. Even though they didn't win the election, their slate did quite well, and because of the organized rank and file pressure, they were able to force the International to end the trusteeship sooner than it would have liked and they regained local control.

Odie Lofton and John Mitchell, running at the head of a reform slate in Teamster Local 667 of Memphis, Tennessee, won the Local elections. The Joint Council 87 and the International had the election set aside and rerun. The International sent organizers in to help the incumbents, and every obstacle was placed in front of the reformers. But the candidates and their rank and file supporters had a group called Teamsters for Better Representation (TBR) and they didn't stop. They distributed literature at every barn in the local, countered the International charges with charges of their own, showing mismanagement by local officials—and **they won the second election**. Now their local has a man in office like Odie Lofton who fights over **every health and safety violation** and who has a rank and file group to back him up.

In Pittsburgh in Local 249 a group of workers from freight

and UPS have put together a group called CRAFT—Concerned Rank and File Teamsters, which is taking up every issue in the local, important to the rank and file. They use their paper, *From the Horse's Mouth* to inform and organize the members.

These are all parts of the strategy to organize the rank and file. Another part of this strategy to break the stranglehold of the employers and the International has to be a fight against every single case of victimization. When the Interstate System fired its stewards at its Detroit terminal last year, the entire terminal walked out in support. And when Interstate System then fired all of the terminal workers, the strike spread to Ypsilanti and was being spread to their barns. It was an unofficial strike, illegal—but it forced Interstate to rehire all of the fired union members and their stewards.

When Yellow Freight bought out Republic and put 240 Republic workers on the street, a group in Chicago, the Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union, and a number of Republic workers and their families organized a demonstration at the union hall. They picketed, demanding union representation for the laid off Republic workers and for jobs. They told the members about their problems through the newspaper—the *Grapovine*—and helped the workers organize a legal suit against the companies for failure to dovetail seniority and discrimination, and against the CTDU and IBT 710 for failure to represent the workers.

When the Hi-Lo grocery company closed its warehouse doors, it gave the work to another company, Globe warehouse, so that they could save \$1.00 an hour wages; thus they put 100 warehouse and office workers and drivers on the street. And they weren't going to pay them money they were owed. The Concerned Truckers organized a demonstration at the Hi-Lo barn, together with the workers there, that stopped the trucks from rolling and forced the company to at least give the workers vacation, severance and pay checks which they had coming.

These examples show how a successful movement can put the union in the hands of the rank and file and make it our tool for getting what we need.

We need groups in every local committed to rank and file

control of the union and a fighting policy to get what we need from the employers. These caucuses must take up every problem in the local. The enemy we face is a conspiracy of collusion and collaboration between union officers and management against our interests. This cloak and dagger crowd cannot stand being drawn into the light of day.

So we must drag them out into the light of day. We must expose every case of victimization, of discrimination, of contract violation. Local caucuses can expose deals between union officers and management, union inaction, health and safety dangers, and corruption. We must expose the conspirators in local newspapers, on radio and TV, and in our own newsletters or caucus papers. We must organize and fight them with the power of the rank and file, with demonstrations, slow downs, strikes or whatever it takes.

But the IBT and the employers are national in scope. We know very well that the big trucking companies, like all companies, play the workers in one city against those in another city or town. That is what GLX did in Michigan, that is what Interstate did in Detroit, Kroger in Cleveland, UPS in New York and New Jersey—the list is endless. In fact, a major element in the conspirators' strategy to monopolize the trucking industry is to push work standards and wages to the lowest levels by playing workers in one area against those in another.

We know that the IBT does not enforce or fight for complete equality of wages and working conditions around the country. So, the rank and file must fight to get the union to do that and to take on the companies directly, right now. To do that we need to know what is happening everywhere. A dock worker at McLean's in western Pennsylvania needs to know what's happening to drivers and dock workers at McLean's in Indianapolis, Roadway drivers in Scranton about Roadway workers in Cleveland.

Even to fight on the job in one city, we need national organization. Grievances that should be won are given away at the conference level.

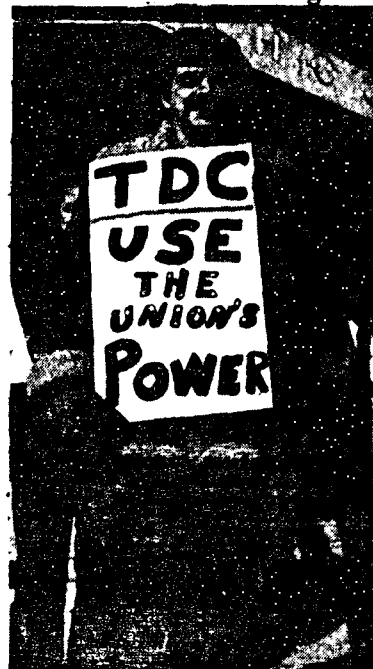
We need the organization and forces to intervene at the Joint Council, Conference and national level, as well as in the Local.

The IBT is a national political structure. We know that a

major goal of any rank and file movement will have to be to kick out Fitzsimmons, his crew, and those officials who go along with the conspiracy—and from down here, it looks like all of them. To clean out this stable, to make the union capable of taking on the monopolists themselves, a **national rank and file caucus, united around a common program, is a must.**

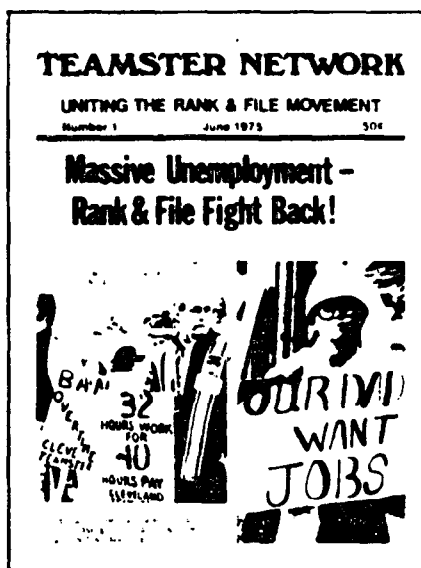
That, too, sounds like a big job. And so it is. But like the fight on the local level, the spade work is already being done. Through a growing fight around the 1976 Master Freight Agreement and some of the regional UPS contracts that expire shortly after MFA, a nation-wide network of rank and file fighters is being forged. **The Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) have an allied movement of UPS teamsters called UPSurge who have organized thousands of Teamsters to fight against a sell-out in 1976.**

TDC and UPSurge have emerged, in the pre-contract



Joe Nabach, New York, Local 804, introduced as a UPS worker, currently fired: "I'm one of those fired-up UPS workers."

The first issue of Teamster rank and file magazine.



months, as national organizations. They have brought together in national meetings militants from all over the country. These fighters now know each other, they now have communications, and they share a common outlook. Only months ago, the idea that they would be part of a national rank and file organization was as far-out to these teamsters as sprouting wings. Here's what one of them said about the first time they got together:

"I didn't know you existed. We were isolated in Chicago. We didn't know how to communicate with you. Everybody thought they were an island unto themselves. And what they did was use ignorance. They used ignorance as a weapon against every one of us. We didn't have any mass communications. What is going on in Consolidated Freightways here in Washington and what is going in Chicago? What is Gordon's doing in Chicago and what is it doing in Cleveland? What is UPS in Washington doing and in Chicago, four different hubs? Every one of us, we communicate. All of a sudden we learn. What we have to do is bind ourselves together thru a form of mass communication and bombard the shit out of them!"

—Bob Grant

Chicago Independent Truck Drivers Union

That quote is from a national meeting of 130 TDC representatives who came together in Washington, D.C. on January 10, 1976. Three weeks later 650 UPS workers met in Indianapolis, Ind. at the first national meeting of UPSurge, jointly sponsored by TDC. Dozens and dozens of local TDC and UPSurge meetings have been held, drawing as many as 200 teamsters to a single meeting. And, as of this writing, TDC and UPSurge are planning a day of demonstrations and rallies for March 13, all across the country.

TDC and UPSurge have not only shown that teamsters can get together, they have actually begun to create a leadership for the future. The rank and file fighters who are leading TDC and UPSurge across the country are getting the best training a working class leader can get—they are learning by

doing. Whatever the outcome of the contract fight, rank and file teamsters will have the beginnings of a leadership that has been tested in battle.

TDC and UPSurge have also shown that teamsters can unite around a common program. Both groups have specific contract programs. And, naturally, every individual teamster has their opinion about this and that demand, or the way this or that is worded. But the thousands of teamsters who have gotten behind these movements have understood, right from the start, that the need for unity is more important than minor details.

TDC and UPSurge have also show that they can stand up to attack. Red-baiting from the companies, the union officialdom, and even a few well-meaning people who should know better, has not stopped or set back TDC or UPSurge. The firing and victimization of TDC or UPSurge activists has only angered the rank and file more. Under these attacks the militants of these movements have been learning how to fight and win.

In more ways than one TDC and UPSurge are the first steps toward the kind of national movement that is needed to change the IBT and fight the conspiracy. The leaders of these movements are aware of this. As Ken Paff, Local 407, and Secretary-Treasurer of TDC, said at the Jan. 10 TDC meeting in Washington, "TDC is just the first step toward an on-going rank and file movement that can make the Teamsters a fighting union once again."



## Program for the Rank and File

TDC and UPSurge are specifically organized for the contract fights. Their programs are, for the most part, centered around contract demands. Naturally, a full-fledged rank and file opposition will have a much broader program, dealing with all the things that affect the lives of teamsters. But because the fight around the contract has brought so many teamsters into action, it has made it easier to see who the enemy is, what the broader needs are, and what kind of a program can rally hundreds of thousands of teamsters in the near future.

Here are some of the things that all teamsters need:

- 1) **A ban on all overtime while any union member is laid off.** Let's share the work and bring our brothers and sisters back.
- 2) **The union hiring halls must be run fairly.** The hiring hall in Oakland has a dispatcher who is elected, and a publicly posted hiring hall seniority list. The hall is available to all union members. In Los Angeles Local 208 they have a steward who is elected to represent the some 400 unemployed workers and make sure they get a fair shake. All locals should have these.
- 3) **Seniority Lists should be dovetailed** in all mergers, buyouts, etc. The union should do everything it can to protect all jobs and let none be lost due to ensuing changes of operations.
- 4) But these measures will still not give us all jobs. We need real job security. That can be gained by **a shorter work week at the same rate of pay--a work week of 30 or 32 hours for 40 hours pay--to create 20 to 25% more jobs nationally.**

Take those millions of dollars from the conspirators and use them to give us more jobs.

A shorter work week would make work easier on us all. It would give us all more leisure to spend with our friends and family, to relax, to study, for whatever we wish. It would create more jobs. At this time many Teamsters are not convinced of the necessity and practicality of this idea. For that reason we who organized the Teamsters for a Decent Contract did not include it in our demands. But in the coming contract it will be essential. A shorter work week should be the first demand of the American labor movement.

5) The union's power should be used to **eliminate racial and sexual discrimination** throughout its jurisdictions. Seniority lists between drivers and dockworkers should be merged in many locals. For too long Black and Latin brothers and sisters have been kept on the docks. Substandard shops and locals should be brought up to par with the best contract in the country. It is often Blacks, Latins and women who are forced to work in the scabby sweetheart plants and barns. In Chicago there are 160,000 workers in the Joint Council and 80,000 are Black and Latin. The majority are found outside of the higher paying freight locals. Many Mexican women, for example, work in Teamster-organized sweat shops doing long hours of dirty work for low wages. It should be our goal over the next few years to bring all Teamsters up to the wage levels of the master freight agreement.

6) **The union should fight against all productivity standards.** UPS is currently the model for every other trucking company in the country. It has its drivers timed down to how long it takes them to get the ignition key out and put their ball point pens away. They push their package car drivers and dock workers at an incredible pace. At the Northbrook Hub in Illinois, some drivers are expected to make as many as 17 stops per hour. Grocery houses also have high productivity standards; National Grocery, for example, has introduced time-study on its drivers in Chicago. We are opposed to all productivity standards.

7) **Health and safety is a fighting issue.** They are killing us. We should have the right to strike over grievances in order to protect ourselves. The steward or local union should have that right. The safety strike should be used to enforce the

safety provisions of the law and of the contract. No driver to take out an unsafe vehicle. No dock worker to work in dangerous surroundings, on dangerous equipment or unsafe loads. No warehouseman to be put in an unhealthy or dangerous situation. The union must fight to ban double trailers which are taking lives and jobs. The maximum weights, heights and lengths must be reduced.

8) In all grievances, workers, like citizens, should be **innocent until proven guilty**. How often has a man or woman been fired, spent weeks, months, or even years on the street—and then, perhaps after losing house, car and even family, been returned to work because innocent (though usually without back pay). The boss should not be able to fire us until we have had a hearing, the right to appeal, and so on. Our steward or local officers should have the right to use our economic power, the strike, to enforce this.

9) **All teamsters should have comparable wage levels and working conditions, regardless of what industry they are in.** A winning strategy to make the Teamsters into a real union cannot be based only on the trucking companies and the freight industry. The overwhelming majority of the Teamsters Union is made up of people who are not truck drivers or dock workers. About 50% of the Teamsters' membership is not involved in trucking but instead works in manufacturing, food processing, sales, or some other industry.

Workers in the non-freight sections of the IBT have also begun to organize and fight back. Rubin Reyes leads a large group of rank and file workers in the canning industry in California. There are over 70,000 canning workers there. The cannery rank and file are demanding an end to racial discrimination, higher wages and better working conditions. They have been able to take over some of their locals and put them in the hands of the rank and file.

To defend or improve our working conditions we need a union that will fight. The rank and file movement cannot substitute for the union. But it can take it over and change it. We believe the key to a fighting union representation is rank and file control. We are not out to replace one set of bureaucrats with another. We want leaders who represent



the ranks and are responsible to them.

Here are some important changes that could maximize rank and file control:

1) **All union officers, from steward to the top, should be elected by the rank and file union members they represent.** They should be elected for a short term, say one year, and be recallable by the rank and file at any time. If all officers were elected, and if we could throw them out when they got out of line, they'd do a lot better job of representing us.

2) **We believe the officers, from steward to International President, should be paid the same as the highest paid rank and file union member working straight time—and no higher.** The union officers don't represent us now because they don't share our problems. They live on high salaries, in luxurious suburbs, in fancy homes and drive the latest cars. No lay-off, welfare, unemployment, food stamps for them. No junk trucks or bad loads. They should share our conditions. If the officers want a raise—fine, I support it—but let them negotiate a better contract for us and their wages will rise with ours. If they shared our conditions, they would better represent us. The famous founder of the American Railway Union (and Socialist) Eugene V. Debs said it right: "I will not rise above the ranks, but with them."

3) **Union policies should be discussed and decided by the rank and file union members through rank and file committees and in general membership meetings.** Rank and file union members from different barns should make contract proposals and even sit on the contract negotiating board. Rank and file union members should investigate and oversee the affairs of the union. And rank and file union members should examine the Health and Welfare and Pension books with their own auditors.

We believe that such policies would make for a more democratic local, with better representation. And we believe a union run that way would go after the things we need.

# Teamsters for a Decent Contract

STAND TOGETHER IN '76



Teamsters for a Decent Contract PO Box 99133 Cleveland, OH 44199

# Class Struggle Unionism and Socialists

A program, however, is more than a list of important demands and items. The kind of program we need to win includes ways to fight and, in fact, a whole different view of what a union should be than that of Frank Fitzsimmons—or even liberal union officials like Leonard Woodcock of the auto workers.

We believe that if a rank and file movement is going to fight a monster like the trucking industry and its allies in the government, that we dare not play by their rules. If we are to fight for a better life and maybe even life itself, we must think of our interests first and about who our allies are.

We have shown earlier that the fight against the conspiracy is a fight between the bosses and the workers, us against them. That fight rages in every industry and in every nation where there are bosses and workers—and that, in one form or another, is everywhere today. At root it is a fight over the wealth that is produced by the entire working class. The bosses claim an eternal right to their profits and seek to maximize them at our expense.

Our program, our outlook, must begin with the notion that they have no such right. We care for our livelihood, and the livelihood of millions like us. We do not care one hoot about their profits. We will not accept the lie that they must be millionaires if we are to work and earn a living. We know who makes industry work, we know who produces the wealth of this earth. We know because it is us—not the parasitic bosses and bureaucrats.

For us, therefore, the union is, or should be, an instrument with which to fight the bosses. The union is not some

business to be milked, not some pork barrel from which to squeeze fat jobs for a few officials. To “business unionism,” we counterpose **class struggle unionism**. That is, a unionism that struggles for the class it represents, the working class. A unionism that fights to win.

This kind of unionism is not something new. Nor is it just a pipe dream held by a few radicals. In various times and places in American history thousands of workers, including teamsters, have rallied to class struggle unionism, and to the leadership of revolutionary socialist workers.

In the summer of 1934 the rank and file Teamsters of Minneapolis, fighting for union recognition, took on the employers’ organization, the Citizens Alliance. The Teamsters had only their organizing skill and their economic power, the power to strike. The Citizens Alliance had the courts, the police, the lawyers, journalists and their tremendous fortunes. The strike organized by the rank and file became a pitched battle that verged on civil war, with hundreds of Teamster strike pickets battling hundreds of scabs and cops. And after a couple of weeks, the Minneapolis Teamsters won union recognition from the employers, followed by their first union contracts with shorter hours, higher wages and better conditions.

They won because they had a tight knit organization of thousands, an organization built from the ground up, based on the workers in the coal yards and the trucking barns of Minneapolis. Their local was completely democratic, with rank and file committees and union membership meetings running the strike, and negotiating the contracts. Their leaders were mostly working drivers; those employed full time by the union had come out of the rank and file and shared the same wages.

That strike in Minneapolis led to the organization of the old Northwest area: Minnesota, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Illinois. And finally it led to the Central States agreement. Union city drivers refused to accept freight from non-union road drivers, so the road drivers were brought into the union. Then the road drivers refused to enter non-union towns so the other towns were organized. And it was all done by men and women like us, the rank and file.

Throughout the country in the 1930’s, militant workers

organized themselves and took on the economic and political octopus—not only in the trucking industry—but in the mines, in steel, auto, rubber and the other mass production industries where the majority of workers had no unions. The strength of this CIO movement was the active involvement of the rank and file.

The movement for union recognition was powerful enough to cause general strikes, that is total strikes, in the cities of Toledo, Minneapolis, Seattle and San Francisco. In 1937, in Flint, Michigan, the auto workers sat down in the plants and held them against the national guard in order to win union recognition.

The organization of the Teamsters Central States and the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) in the 1930's and 40's was led everywhere by radicals—by socialists and communists. The organizers of the Minneapolis Teamsters—Farrell Dobbs, the Dunne brothers, Carl Skoglund—were socialists and revolutionaries. When John L. Lewis led the organization of the mines and then sent his partner Phil Murray into organize steel—he went out and found revolutionary socialists to do the organizing. The Reuther brothers, organizers of the United Auto Workers were socialists at that time.

Why is it that radicals and revolutionaries have always been the best organizers in the labor movement since it began? Why is it that they are some of the hardest fighters,

most militant, dedicated and uncompromising? Well, obviously a radical is always the first one to stand up and speak his or her mind. But more important are the socialist's principles.

We socialists see that a battle is going on every day between us—the workers—and them—the bosses. We socialists believe the bosses are parasites who live off our labor and have no right to control industries which affect the lives of millions. We workers produce the wealth, do the work, we are the vast majority of the population—so we should also have the control. We believe the working class should win this battle—that the bosses should be defeated and their economic and political power be taken away.

We believe their power—the power of controlling economically vast industries affecting the lives of millions, and their control over the government—should be taken away. So, since we don't believe the boss has any right to control his business and use his power against us, we are naturally going to be fighting him every inch of the way.

We believe the working people, the vast majority of this country, should control the wealth and the industry of this nation democratically. The workers should run it. That means we should all have a voice in what our economy produces, in how it is distributed, and in how the work is done. The economy of this country should supply our needs—homes, schools, clothing, food, recreation, education—and not be run for profit. Human need—not profit.

Because of our opposition to the capitalist system, we have no loyalty to the bosses. Our only loyalty is to the workers. For us, there is nothing to make deals about, no reason to take the bosses' word for anything. Like everyone else we are forced, now and then, to make tactical retreats, to settle for partial victories, and even to admit defeat when we know we have fought our best and no more can be gained. But we never start from the idea that defeat is inevitable, that you can't fight city hall, or that the boss has any right to lord it over us.

That is the mystery of why socialist revolutionaries have always been an important part of the labor movement. And today is no exception.

Members of the International Socialists are active in the

rank and file movements that are growing in all the major unions. In the Teamsters, ISers have been instrumental in organizing many local caucuses and in TDC and UPSurge. We are proud of the positive role we play in these movements. And we are equally insistent that our loyalty and commitment to the rank and file movement is no accident.

Our hatred of the bosses and their system is one side of the story. Another side is our view of what socialism is—a society democratically controlled by the working class. Still another side is our view of how the workers will create such a society.

Socialist revolution takes awareness, experience and a high level of organization. Unless the working class wants socialism and is willing to act to get it, there can be no revolution. But this sort of experience and the self-confidence required to make a revolution do not come from good intentions alone.

Workers gain the self-confidence as individuals and as a class through struggle. Each struggle of the class, a contract fight, a union battle, mass strikes, political actions, is a school in which workers learn that they can do things that only yesterday seemed impossible.

From the revolutionary socialist point of view every fight—a local walk-out, TDC and UPSurge, a hard-fought union meeting—is preparation for the bigger fights ahead. Every fight teaches political and organizational lessons. Every fight shows more clearly the nature of the enemy. So, for the IS workers, there is no contradiction between the struggles of today and the greater ones to come: today's struggles make tomorrow's possible.

After all, no one is born a socialist. We who are now members of the IS had to be convinced and trained by events as well as by argument and discussion. The crisis of the capitalist system that goads the conspiracy on and that threatens our livelihood is, ultimately the best recruiter the socialist workers' movement has.

You don't have to be a socialist to join the growing fight against the conspiracy. You don't have to be a socialist to feel the needs and wants of your class. You don't have to be a socialist to hate the bosses and bureaucrats. But if you have socialist politics, if you have socialist organization, you will be a better fighter for it.

## Class Struggle Politics

Ultimately, the complete defeat of the conspiracy will mean the abolition of the capitalist system. They conspire today, precisely because they fear losing their power and privilege. Their fears are well founded. The rise of rank and file rebellion is the sure sign that the workers will not take things lying down. But neither will the bosses give up without a fight. In the end someone must win and someone lose.

We propose that the workers win. That means socialist revolution. Union organization, even militant class struggle unionism, is not enough to defeat the bosses in the long run, or even to defend our gains today. As we have pointed out through this booklet, the bosses control the government. They also control the major political parties—Democratic, Republican, Wallaceite, etc. They pour millions into these parties and in return, they get what they pay for. No one reaches high political office through these parties without being thoroughly molded in the shape the bosses require.

The workers too must be politically organized. Revolutionary organization—that is, the International Socialists—is the most effective form of political organization for workers. Our seriousness and professionalism, our unity around a common program and strategy, our analysis of the world today, and our organizational methods combine to make us effective beyond our numbers—a fact we have no intention of hiding. As we have said, socialists will tend to be the most effective working class fighters.

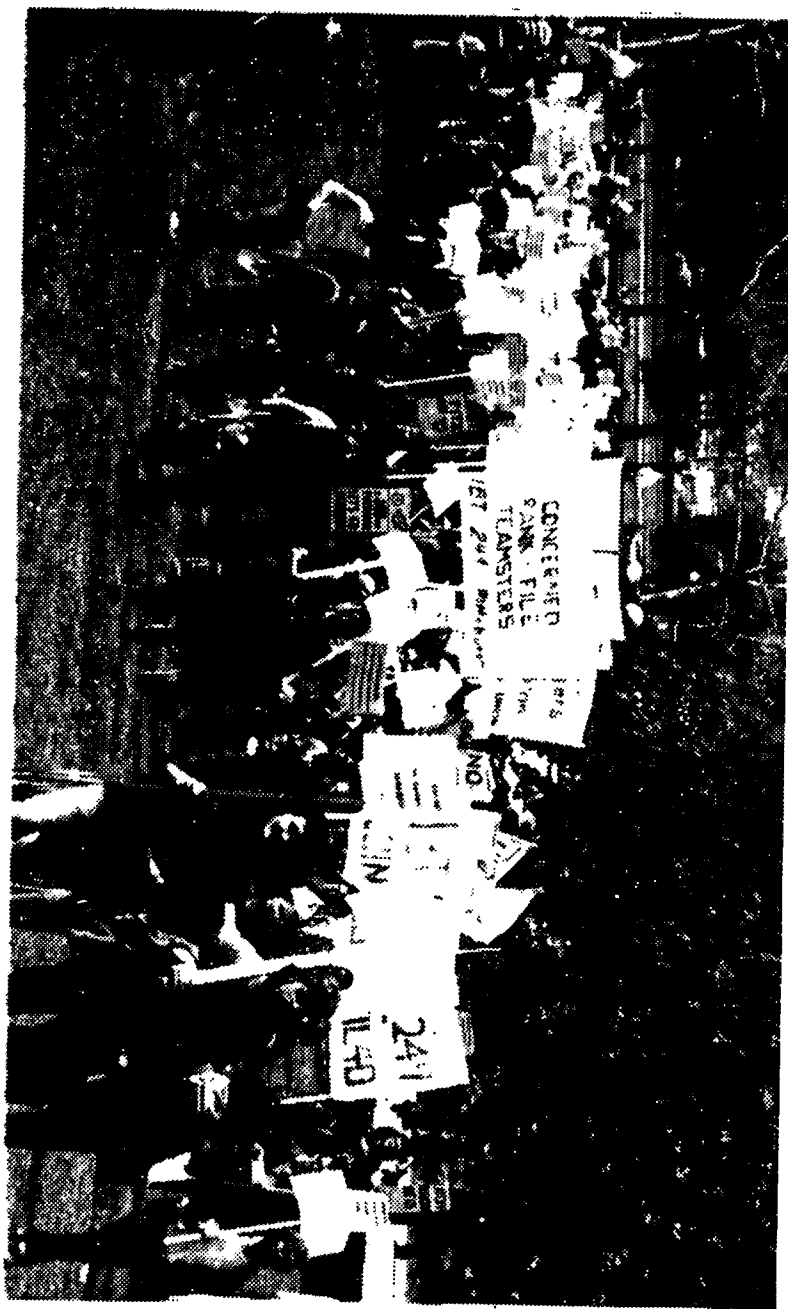
We also recognize however that the majority of workers today are not ready to commit themselves to revolutionary

politics and organization. So we stand for the creation of an independent labor party. As in the realm of unionism, there must be a political vehicle for the millions of politically disenfranchised workers.

The lack of a mass workers party is most glaring in this election year of 1976. Most likely, the working class will be confronted by a race between the likes of a Reagan or a Rockefeller, on the one hand, and a Humphrey, on the other. From the vantage point of a fight against the conspiracy, a fight against the bosses, a fight for working people, this is no choice at all.

The rank and file movement that throws out Fitzsimmons will also have to build a genuinely independent labor party. It will need a party that reflects the militancy and determination of that movement in the realm of politics. Like the rank and file movement itself, such a party will be a step toward the day when the capitalists are routed, a step toward workers control of industry, toward workers' power in society.





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